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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 RSC-01 SSO-00 ISO-00 /017 R

DRAFTED BY: S/S-O: KBROWN

APPROBED BY: S/S-O: GTWOHIE

S/S: WLUERS

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O 282107Z JUN 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 140565

TOSEC 132

FOLLOWING REPEAT BEIRUT 7430 ACTION SECSTATE DIA INFO AMMAN
CAIRO DAMASCUS GENEVA JERUSALEM JIDDA KUWAIT LONDON TEL AVIC
USUN USCINCEUR 28 JUN 74

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BEIRUT 7430

GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

LONDON FOR LAMBRAKIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINS PMIL LE IS SY XF

SUBJ: PRESSURES INCREASING ON GOL

REF: BEIRUT 7291

SUMMARY: AGAINST BACKDROP OF ANXIETY REGARDING POSSIBLE
ISRAELI RETALIATION FOR MAHARIYA RAID--MOST VIVIDLY
EXAMPLIFIED BY MASS EXODOS OF BOTH LEBANESE AND PALESTINIANS
FROM SOUTH--GOL IS COMING UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE FROM
VARIETY OF QUARTERS AS PLANS FOR CAIRO MEETING OF ARAB
DEFENSE COUNCIL PROCEED. ISRAELI SHELLING AND RECONNAISSANCE
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FLIGHTS CONTINUE, AND GOL MUST CONTEND

WITH INTENSIFIED CALLS FROM FEDAYEEN AND CERTAIN ARAB STATES FOR INTRODUCTION OF NON-LEBANESE FORCES TO DEFEND SOUTH AGAINST FUTURE ISRAELI ATTACKS. GOL'S ABILITY TO OVERCOME SUCH PRESSURES MAY DEPEND TO GREAT EXTENT ON COMBINATION OF ISRAELI RESTRAINT AND HOPED-FOR SUPPORT FROM MODERATE ARAB GOVTS AT UPCOMING ARAB DEFENSE COUNCIL MEETING IN CAIRO. IN EFFECT, GOL IS STILL WALKING TIGHT-ROPE OF TRYING TO AVOID FURTHER IDF REPRISALS WHILE AT SAME TIME AVOIDING CONFRONTATION WITH FEDAYEEN. END SUMMARY.

1. UPCOMING ARAB DEFENSE COUNCIL MEETING IN CAIRO TO CONSIDER LEBANON'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS ISRAEL IS CAUSING CONSIDERABLE FERMENT HERE, WITH FEDAYEEN AND LEFTIST, PRO-FEDAYEEN PRESS AGITATING VIOLENTLY IN FAVOR OF GOL'S ACCEPTANCE OF KUWAITI PROPOSAL (CAIRO 4605) FOR STATIONING OF ARAB MILITARY FORCES IN LEBANON. IN ORDER TO ENHANCE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THIS IDEA, SOME SOURCES ARE ALSO CHURNING OUT ALARMS RE IDF "TROOP CONCENTRATIONS" IN NORTHERN GALILEE AND SPREADING STORY THAT GOL HAS SURREPTITIOUSLY APPROACHED UNSYG WITH REQ FOR STATIONING UNEF-TYPE FORCE ON LEBANESE SIDE OF BORDER WITH ISRAEL. (TO BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, AFTER DISCUSSING REPORT WITH FONOFF ACTING SYG, GOL HAS DONE NO SUCH THING, ALTHOUGH CERTAIN LEBANESE POLITICAL FIGURES--E.G., RAYMOND EDDE AND EVEN KAMAL JUMBLATT--HAVE FREQUENTLY ENDORSED THIS IDEA IN PUBLIC.)

2. ISRAEL'S ANNOUNCED INTENTION OF STRIKING AT FEDAYEEN AT WILL ACCORDING TO NO FIXED PATTERN, COMBINED WITH ABSENCE TO DATE OF MAJOR IDF REPRISAL SINCE NAHARIYA RAID, HAS ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO PUBLIC ANXIETY AND OFFICIAL JITTERINESS. (ACCORDING TO LEBANESE ARMY G-2, IDF BORDER ACTIVITY SINCE JUNE 26 HAS CONSISTED LARGELY OF NIGHTLY ARTILLERY SHELLINGS--AROUND 100 ROUNDS EACH NIGHT--OF AREAS IN ARQUB AND AROUND AITAROUN, BLIDA AND YAROUN IN CENTRAL SECTOR, PLUS SEVERAL OVERFLIGHTS AND DROPPING OF FLARES ALONG BORDER. G-2 REPORTS ONE WOMAN WOUNDED NIGHT OF JUNE 27-28.) CONSEQUENT (AND CONTINUING) MASS EVACUATION OF LEBANESE VILLAGERS AND PALESTINIANS FROM SOUTH LEBANON HAS HAD SAME CIRCULAR EFFECT, BESIDES PRESENTING GOL WITH NEW INTERNAL SOCIO-CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICAL PROBLEMS. FINALLY, SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH CIVILIAN EXODOS FROM SOUTHERN CAMPS AND VILLAGES, THERE IS OBSERVABLE HEIGHTENING OF FEDAYEEN ACTIVITY IN FORTIFYING ALL OF LEBANON'S 15 REFUGEE CAMPS AGAINST ANTICIPATED ISRAELI ATTACKS.

3. LEBANESE CABINET MET AFTERNOON JUNE 26 TO CONSIDER POLICY LINE WHICH GOL SHOULD TAKE IN CAIRO (WHERE PRIMIN

SOLH AND DEFMIN MAALOUF WILL REPRESENT LEBANON), AND IT
LIKELY THAT MAIN GOL AIM WILL BE SOMEHOW TO SIDE-TRACK
KUWAITI (AND SIMILAR) PROPOSALS WHILE SOUNDING OUT OTHER
ARAB GOVTS RE (A) THEIR READINESS TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON
FEDAYEEN TO CURTAIL OPERATIONS AGAINST ISRAEL FROM LEBANESE
TERRITORY, AND (B) POSSIBILITY OF THEIR PROVIDING CERTAIN
ITEMS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO LEBANESE ARMY.
ON LATTER POINT, PRES FRANGIE AND LEBANESE ARMY WOULD
PROBABLY BE WILLING ACCEPT ARAB FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
AS WELL AS SOME MORE MODERN ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS THAN
EXIST AT PRESENT IN LEBANESE INVENTORY. WE UNDERSTAND,
HOWEVER, THAT THEY ARE OPPOSED TO ACQUIRING SURFACE
TO AIR MISSILES OR ANY OTHER ITEMS WHOSE USE MIGHT
RESULT IN EMBROILING LEBANESE ARMY WITH IDF. (ISRAELI
GEN GOR'S JUNE 27 REMARKS -- SEE FBIS M271212-- HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY
REINFORCED GOL CAUTION ON THIS SCORE.) AS REPORTED REFTEL, PRES
FRANGIE IS BY NO MEANS SATISFIED WITH ASSURANCES RE CURTAILMENT
OF FEDAYEEN ACTIVITY FROM SOUTH LEBANON GIVEN TO
HIM BY 'ARAFAT ON JUNE 24 (AND REPEATED TO
PRIMIN SOLH BY ABU ZA'IM JUNE 26). HOWEVER, LOCAL
PRESSURES ON HIM AND OTHER GOL LEADERS ARE SUCH THAT
THEY FEEL OBLIGED AVOID SAYING SO IN PUBLIC, AS WELL AS
BEING SEEN OPENLY TO DECLINE OFFERS OF ARAB TROOPS.

4. MEANWHILE, GOL OFFICIALS ARE DRAWING SOME ENCOURAGEMENT
FROM FACT THAT SYRIAN REPS (INCLUDING MILITARY)
AT JUNE 23 MEETING HERE OF ARAB GOVTS CONCERNED
WITH UNRWA AFFAIRS EXPRESSED VOCAL DISAPPROVAL OF
FEDAYEEN PRESENCE AND BEHAVIOR IN LEBANON. ACCORDING
TO LEBANESE REPS PRESENT, SYRIANS--INCLUDING SA'IQA
REP--AGREED THAT FEDAYEEN ACTIVITIES WITHIN LEBANON
MERELY GIVE ISRAEL EXCUSE TO STRIKE AT HER AND THAT
LEGITIMATE FEDAYEEN OBJECTIVES LIE ENTIRELY WITHIN
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ISRAEL AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. LEBANESE REPS WERE
SURPRISED TO HEAR SUCH TALK FROM SYRIANS AND DO NOT
KNOW IF IT REPRESENTED OFFICIAL SARG ATTITUDE OR WAS
SIMPLY DESIGNED TO HUMOR THEIR LEBANESE HOSTS.
(LEBANESE REPS APPARENTLY REFRAINED FROM ASKING IF
SARG HAD DECIDED REMOVE SA'IQA ELEMENTS FROM LEBANESE
TERRITORY.)

5. COMMENT: (A) EVEN MORE THAN IN PAST, GOL SEEMS
CAUGHT ABETWEEN COUNTERVAILING PRESSURES GENERATED
BY (1) ISRAELI INSISTENCE THAT IT EXERT EFFECTIVE
CONTROL OVER FEDAYEEN ACTIVITY IN AND FROM
LEBANON AND (2) DETERMINATION OF FEDAYEEN--SUPPORTED
BY CERTAIN ARAB STATES--TO MAINTAIN THEIR FREEDOM OF
ACTION, EVEN IF THIS SHOULD MEAN DRAGGING LEBANON INTO

UNWANTED AND COSTLY CONFRONTATION WITH ISRAEL. SITUATION THUS SEEMS TO BE DEVELOPING INTO PRECISELY WHAT MANY LOCAL OBSERVERS FEARED MIGHT HAPPEN FOLLOWING SYRIAN-ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT--I.E., THAT ISRAELI-LEBANESE BORDER WOULD BECOME SOLE THEATER OF HOSTILITIES CARRIED ON AGAINST ISRAEL BOTH BY ELEMENTS (E.G., PFLP, PFLP/GC, IRAQIS AND LIBYANS) ANXIOUS TO SPOIL ME SETTLEMENT EFFORT, AND BY OTHER ELEMENTS (E.G., PLO/FATAH "MODERATES," SYRIAN-BACKED SA'IQA, AND ERHAPS EVEN SARG ITSELF) INTENT ON PURSUING VIET CONG-STYLE "FIGHT AND TALK" POLICY AS MEANS--HOWEVER MISGUIDED--OF ENHANCING THEIR FUTURE INFLUENCE IN GENEVA. (B) BIGGEST LOSER IN THIS UNFOLDING DRAMA CAN ONLY BE LEBANON, WHOSE MILITARY IMPOTENCE--TRADITIONALLY ITS BEST DEFENSE AGAINST ISRAEL--NOW RENDERS GOL VIRTUALLY POWERLESS TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH CHALLENGE PRESENTED BY FEDAYEEN, ESPECIALLY WHEN LATTER POSSESS EXTERNAL ARAB SYMPATHY AND/OR SUPPORT. WOULD SEEM THAT GOL WILL REQUIRE COMBINATION OF CONTINUING ISRAELI RESTRAINT PLUS SUPPORT FROM MODERATE ARAB GOVTS (ESPECIALLY EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA AND SYRIA) AT UPCOMING ADC MEETING IN CAIRO IF IT IS TO RETAIN ABILITY TO KEEP UP WITH EVENTS TAKING PLACE ON ITS OWN SOIL, MUCH LESS BEGIN TO EXERT SOME SEMBLANCE OF CONTROL OVER THEM. GODLEY
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REVANCHISM, PARAMILITARY FORCES, PUBLIC ATTITUDES, COMBAT OPERATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 JUN 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: BoyleJA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE140565
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O: KBROWN
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740172-0499
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974063/aaaaabuz.tel
Line Count: 201
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BEIRUT 7291
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: BoyleJA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 JUN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 JUN 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <24 MAR 2003 by BoyleJA>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESSURES INCREASING ON GOL
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, MILI, LE, IS, SY, XF
To: MOSCOW
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005